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602 195 [193] father-in-law can be referred to by the son-in-law as "one for whom I carry burdens" and also as "he who is old." The question of whether polite form is to be required and the mode of notification are the business of the woman's relatives.

As soon as the relatives of the girl heard about it, those who intended to do so started to use the polite form the next time they saw me. They told me that I should use the polite form to them, and in that very sentence they used it themselves. So they really used it first.

Polite form begins immediately after marriage. Sometimes the individual tells you to use the polite form; sometimes he or she just uses it to you, and you must use it in return.

Perfect decorum must be maintained when two "who are ashamed in words" are together:

You can't pass water, defecate, or use smutty language when anyone to whom you use polite form is around. If one of them is in an embarrassing or ridiculous position, you cannot laugh at him but must leave the place immediately. You have to be careful of your language, too, when someone like this is around.

[551] Ordinarily, names may be used in speaking of absent persons, but a stricter usage is observed by a polite-form affinity:

You don't call the name of a man to whom you use polite form. If you do have to mention his name, you have to add something, as "the one who is known as C." or "the one who is called C." Others can use his name before you though. Usually in referring to him you just say "the one who is an affinity to me."

602 195 596 [496] [426] It is evident that these observances are related to that same economic solidarity which exists between avoidance relatives:

I feel that if I needed some service or property I could ask it of someone to whom I used the polite form. I'd be sure of getting it. If I were having a girl go through the puberty ceremony, I might ask these people for help, and a man helps his wife's relatives meet the expense of a ceremony which his wife's relatives are putting on. You can take property privileges with anyone to whom you use the polite form. You can borrow property from them freely, for you know they will never say anything to you that is disrespectful. You have more rights in this respect than you would with your own family.

602 195 578 [273] But in spite of convention, polite form, like avoidance, often masks repressed dislikes:

Some people, when they get drunk, will fight their own fathers. And they don't care if someone they have to be polite to tries to handle them. Even though they are supposed to be ashamed before a person, that isn't going to hold them down when they're drunk. Sometimes they don't like a person they are ashamed before in words, and then, when they are drunk, it comes out.

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421 are his own, and his wife may not dispose of them without his
[431] permission. But if he recklessly gives away all the booty he has
[626] earned in a successful raid and leaves his own family impoverished, he is subjected to stinging criticism at home and ridicule outside.

439 Trade is more likely to be intertribal than intratribal. "The women who didn't make their own pots got them in trade from the Pueblos and from the Navaho too. Those people came down with peaches and pots and things on burros and traded them for
438 saddles and things we had." But some bartering does go on
439 among tribesmen. "If a man wants a certain blanket, he offers something. If it is refused, he offers more until a deal is made." When something is needed for ceremonial purposes, a particular kind of feather, for instance, the one who has it is approached and offered whatever is required to induce him to part with it.

43 That trade is not further developed has been attributed by
463 informants to the lack of emphasis on specialization of labor:

> A good maker of bows cannot spend his time just making bows. Everyone makes his own bows and takes care of his own property. A woman who is widowed lives in a poorer condition; that's all. She does not get things she needs by trading.[9] There is not much specialization of labor. We were on the move
> [648] all the time. The Mexicans were always after us. A person didn't have the chance to specialize on any kind of work and trade off the things he made.

43 Another barrier to great interest in trade is the solidarity of the
602 kin group and extended family in material matters. The ease
[426] with which objects can be borrowed for legitimate purposes makes less important their actual ownership and their acquisition by barter.

425 And yet, in various ways, goods do pass from person to per-
[525] son. The wagering of property on games of chance, for instance, makes for a great deal of circulation of possessions of all kinds. Gambling is almost a major occupation for some individuals, and persons of all ages and both sexes show a lively interest in it.
[465] Much wealth changes hands, too, as a result of payment for ceremonial services. Because so many persons are involved in the

[9] But for evidence that pots were sometimes traded see pp. 383–84.

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practice of ritual, the distribution that this fosters is constant and equitable.

It is gift-giving that largely takes the place of trade, though the difference is mostly one of phrasing. There is the feeling that exchanges should depend upon an implicit reciprocity to be worked out in individual relations rather than in terms of declared measures of value. One speaks of "giving" instead of "selling." But it is understood that generosity begets generosity and that a man loses nothing by kindness to his neighbors. Thus a father caps advice to his son with this admonition: "Do not be stingy and mean. Treat people right. Give half of what you have. Then you will be invited to feasts and get presents."

The openhanded individual builds up a fund of friends who will serve him in good stead whenever he needs assistance, material or moral. One informant told how a member of a certain family gave gifts to his wife. "Now they are our friends" was his comment. The implication is that some gesture on his part will be forthcoming later, for this is an almost inevitable consequence of friendship initiated in this way.

Reputation and social standing are significantly related to generosity, and, even if the individual gains no more than added prestige, he does not regret his philanthropy:

> Gifts are given because we are sympathetic to one another. If someone needs food, we help him in a material way, for we feel that we are one people. We feel that way to a man who is poor. Giving is a great thing to the Chiricahua. A man can make a great reputation by giving.

Acceptance of a gift is felt by the receiver as a claim upon him to be adjusted in his own time and way:

> You are ashamed to borrow a horse, a bow, or other things, for that shows that you are not a real man and have not been on the raid and obtained things for yourself. To start out, the young man would be given the necessities. Giving is a great thing with us. I don't think there was much selling in the old days, but there was always lots of giving.
>
> Even now there is not much selling. I could walk up to any man and ask for a horse. Even though I don't know him well I have a good chance of getting it. I've been offered horses. C. offered me a horse, but I never took it. I didn't take it because I did not want to feel under obligation to him. He just offered it to show his friendship. This was done in the old days a great deal.